## Message Text

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FOR SCHAUFELE FROM EDMONDSON

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PFOR, RH, ZA

SUBJ: RHODESIA: IVOR RICHARD'S FIRST MEETING WITH KAUNDA

- 1. SUMMARY: DURING FIRST MEETING WITH KAUNDA, RICHARD OUTLINED PROPOSAL IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL INCLUDING SMALL VARIATIONS FROM PLAN DISCUSSED WITH US IN WASHINGTON. IN GENERAL KAUNDA AND CHONA SEEMED PLEASED WITH PROPOSAL, THOUGH THEY CONSTANTLY COMPARED IT TO ZAMBIAN INDEPENDENCE EXPERIENCE. KAUNDA QUESTIONED ABSENCE OF PRIME MINISTER AND SHARED SAME SUSPICION THAT ADVISORY COUNCIL WAS DISGUISED COUNCIL OF STATE. MEETING WILL RECONVENE AT 9 THIS EVENING WHEN DETAILS WILL BE FURTHER EXPLORED.
- 2. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER MILES BRIEFED LOW AND ME
  ON TWO-HOUR MEETING AND LUNCH RICHARD AND PARTY HAD WITH
  PRESIDENT KAUNDA, PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT MARK CHONA,
  FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE, CHONA'S DEPUTY (KASANDA) AND TWO
  OTHERS TODAY. MILES DESCRIBED ATMOSPHERE AS GOOD WITH KAUNDA
  IN WELCOMING MOOD. RICHARD BRIEFLY OUTLINED BACKGROUND OF
  MISSION AND UK WILLINGNESS PLAY DIRECT ROLE AND EXPLAINED
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HE WAS TRYING OUT NEW IDEAS THAT MIGHT LEAD TO AGREEMENT WHEN GENEVA CONFERENCE RESUMED.

3. ACCORDING TO MILES, RICHARD SPELLED OUT SOME OF THESE IDEAS IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL, STARTING WITH "MAIN ONE" OF BRITISH-APPOINTED RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. HE MENTIONED IDEA

OF HAVING COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF 30 MEMBERS, 20 BLACK AND 10 WHITE, ALONG WITH ANVADVISORY COUNCIL THAT COULD BE MADE UP OF PRESENT DELEGATION HEADS. RICHARD SUGGESTED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PRIME MINISTER BUT THAT RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD CHAIR THE COUNCIL'S MEETINGS AND HAVE A "CASTING" VOTE ON CERTAIN IMPORTANT QUESTIONS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE TWO THIRDS MAJORITY OF 21 OUT OF 31.

- 4. ON SUBJECT OF SECURITY PORTFOLIOS, AFTER BRIEFLY MENTIONING THAT THER SEEMED TO BE LITTLE SUPPORT FOR HAVING ONE BLACK AND ONE WHITE MINISTER, RICHARD DESCRIBED POSSIBILITY OF HAVING A NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL CONSISTING OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, THE 5 MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL, THE 3 SERVICE CHIEFS, AND THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S DEPUTY.
- 5. THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S POWERS WOULD HAVE TO BE AGREED AT GENEVA WITH ALL PARTIES TO GIVE ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD RESPECT HIS ROLE AND HIS JUDGMENT OF WHEN TO INVOKE SPECIAL VOTING PROCEDURE ON IMPORTANT QUESTIONS SUCH AS CONSTITUTION, DEFENSE, LAW AND ORDER, LAND TENURE, AND ELECTIONS.
- 6. MILES SAID KAUNDA'S RESPONSE WAS FAIRLY POSITIVE, WELCOMING BRITAIN'S ACCEPTANCE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES, THOUGH NOT WITHOUT WRYLY COMMENTING IT SHOULD HAVE COME LONG AGO. ON OTHER HAND, KAUNDA FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT IDEA OF HAVING NO PRIME MINISTER EVEN THOUGH RICHARD SAID REASON FOR SUGGESTING THIS WAS PROBLEM OF CHOOSING WHO SHOULD BE NAMED. KAUNDA KEPT QUOTING PRECEDENTS FROM NORTHERN RHODESIAN EXPERIENCE AND WAS APPARENTLY NOT SECRET

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PERSUADED BY BRITISH ARGUMENTS THAT SOUTHERN RHODESIA WAS DIFFERENT. KAUNDA ALSO HAD DIFFICULTY UNDERSTANDING ADVISORY COUNCIL. THERE WAS SOME DEBATE WHETHER THIS BODY WAS NOT SIMPLY COUNCIL OF STATE IN DISGUISE, THOUGH ZAMBIANS THEMSELVES NOTED IT WOULD HAVE FOUR AFRICANS AND ONE WHITE. KAUNDA ALSO QUESTIONED RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S CASTING VOTE ON NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.

7. CHONA ASKED ALOT OF QUESTIONS (AS MILES PUT IT, "KAUNDA WAS ASSISTED IN THINKING OF THE DETAILS BY CHONA"), WHICH APPARENTLY LED TO MUCH MORE DISCUSSION ON DETAIL THAN ORIGINALLY INTENDED, WITH THE BRITISH WONDERING SUBSEQUENTLY WHETHER THIS WAS A GOOD THING OR NOT. AT ONE POINT CHONA STARTED LONG DISCUSSION ABOUT DISPOSITION OF PRESENT MILITARY FORCE AND GUERRILLA ARMIES AND REMOVAL OF PRESENT SENIOR OFFICERS, ON LINES SIMILAR TO HIS TALKS WITH REINHARDT AND WISNER.

8. BRITISH ARE TO HAVE SECOND SESSION WITH KAUNDA

AT 9 P.M. THIS EVENING, AFTER ZAMBIANS HAVE HAD TIME THINK SUBJECT OVER. SECOND MEETING WILL PERMIT THEM TO ASK MORE QUESTIONS, GIVE REACTIONS, OR PRESENT COUNTER IDEAS.

9. COMMENT: RICHARD'S PRESENTATION APPARENTLY INCLUDED SOME SLIGHT VARIATIONS FROM ALTERNATIVES DISCUSSED WITH US IN WASHINGTON, WHICH I WILL ASK HIM ABOUT AFTER HIS SECOND MEETING. I WAS SURPRISED THAT HE WENT INTO QUITE SUCH DETAIL ON THIS FIRST ROUND. HOWEVER, BOTH KAUNDA AND CHONA ASKED FOR SOMETHING IN WRITING (WHICH RICHARD DID NOT PROVIDE) AND WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN PUT OFF BY A MORE GENERALIZED APPROACH. NONETHELESS, I REMINDED BRITISH OF CONCERN WE HAD EXPRESSED IN LONDON ABOUT DANGER OF AFRICANS ADOPTING AS THEIR MINIMUM POSITION ANY DETAILED PROPOSALS THEY FIND ACCEPTABLE DURING FIRST ROUND DISCUSSIONS. LOW

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